













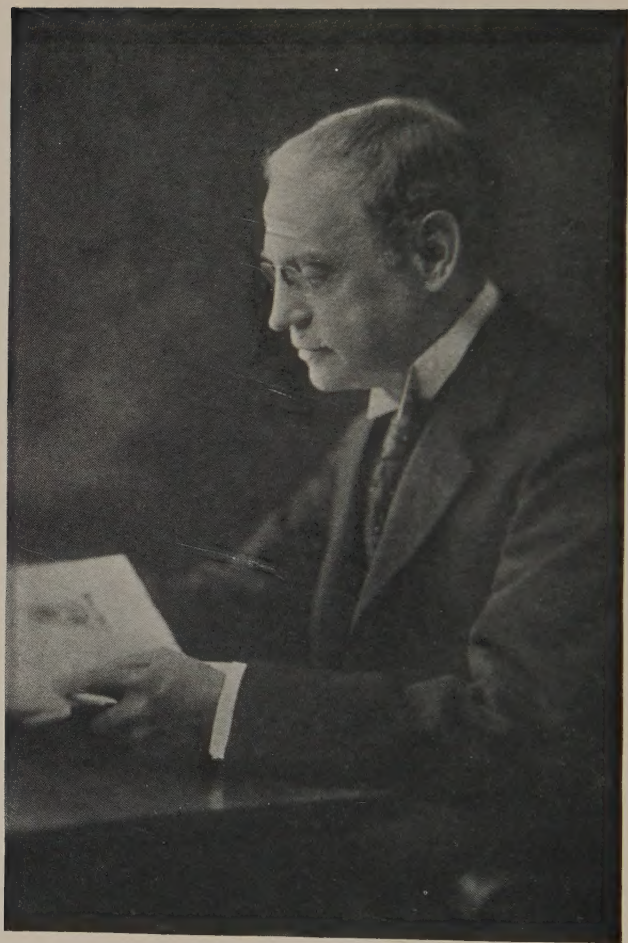


# MAN AND HIS FELLOWS

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HENRY LABARRE JAYNE  
1857                      1920  
IN WHOSE MEMORY THE FOUNDATION  
WAS ESTABLISHED BY HIS FRIENDS

# MAN AND HIS FELLOWS

*Lectures on the Henry LaBarre Jayne Foundation  
Academy of Music, Philadelphia, 1925*

By

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## FOREWORD

**I**F the content of these lectures were to be presented in written words rather than in spoken, the conventional arrangement at the beginning would be a preface. As it is, for mutual understanding, I beg the privilege of a few introductory remarks as a verbal preface, bearing, among other things, upon the question of spoken or written words in relation to thought.

To begin with, no man has command of a sufficient proportion of available knowledge to make the validity of his assertions sure, when it is recognized how much knowledge is existent in the world, of which any man must be largely ignorant.

In the time of Vincent de Beauvais and the encyclopedists, it was not an entirely absurd aspiration for men of reputed learning to seek to know all which was knowable in that age. Now, however, it is ridiculous for one to consider the possibility of having more than fragmentary understanding of the ultimate relationships of even those things which he knows best.

In the second place, intelligent and purposeful acts derive their continued motivation from the thoughts we think ourselves, and not from thinking which others impose upon us. Sporadic acts may be instigated through

mob psychology. On the other hand, mental inertia and intellectual indifference may go uncorrected because of the barriers to thinking which inheritance, environment, social caste, professionalized code or self-interest shut down about our minds. But enduring, out-reaching and self-developing thoughts come from reflection and from the play of our own minds upon available material. They do not come from the acceptance into the mind of the thoughts of others in unmasticated and undigested lumps.

And thirdly, there is abundant reason for questioning the effectiveness of any known agency for conveying thought from one mind to another in exactness except as the two minds attempt to meet and to find a common denominator of mutual understanding. It can often be observed that two people, with diverse thoughts expressed in like vocabularies, can arrive at greater seeming agreement than can two others, both believing the same thing but each expressing his belief in different terms.

Anatole France speaks of our limitations, possessing as we do "only the perfected cries of apes and dogs" and of "onomatopoetic noises wherewith the brutes expressed hunger and fear and desire in the primeval forests, and to which have gradually become attached meanings that are assumed to be abstract only because they are less definite."

The same skepticism in regard to the efficacy of words as a means of transmitting ideas has been stated by John Locke: "If anyone shall consider the errors and obscurity, the mistakes and confusion that are spread in the world by an ill use of words, he will find some reason to doubt whether language, as it has been employed, has contributed more to the improvement or hindrance of knowledge among mankind."

The criterion of worth, therefore, of such an appointment as we are here keeping together is not what one speaking may say, nor even what he may think, but rather the effect which one may have upon the minds of those about him in stimulating speculation and in leading to reflection upon the topics which may be suggested.

Finally, an audience is entitled to know those predispositions or moods of a speaker which so largely color thought, that thus one who is of different inclination may modify or discount what shall be said to a degree which makes it accessible to his own mental attitude.

I am an optimist, and regret the prevalence in these critical times of a cult of pessimism from which it often is hard to get away. This widely pervasive mood has become more particularly a pose of the intellectuals. Sometimes it seems problematical whether among this group one can be thought mentally competent unless he radiates discouragement about the present and despon-

dency about the future, denies the fact of progress and sneers at theories of self-determination. Among writers, playwrights, statesmen, preachers,—yes, and among those associated with our colleges and universities,—there seems to be a sentiment that it is not quite intelligent to be cheerful.

This arises, in all probability, from the experiences of the past decade. Society, which had long blindly believed that all inevitably must be right and that no large injury could befall the people of the earth, suddenly found itself the victim of its own lack of foresight. Subsequently, it would seem, mankind determined to take out insurance against like surprise, and, as part of the payment upon this, has since written and talked little except about those subjects which make for gloom. On the whole, doubtless, this is preferable to a generalization that all is well and that nothing can be improved. It has nevertheless its danger in that by repeated suggestion it tends to create a mental state in conformity with that which it forebodes.

It, then, is well for us to remember that with all its weaknesses and faults, civilization has developed to a stage where men can guarantee and justify a confidence which may be reposed in them, and where material, intellectual and spiritual trusts can be established with expectation that these will be enhanced, from one generation to another, to the good of countless individuals, to

the advantage of numberless groups, and to the enhanced stability of society as a whole.

I come, then, to believe that, though we should not be blind to dangers which threaten, we should not forego confidence in our capacity for development to meet and to master these. There is large ground for optimism in the fact that in the complicated and delicately adjusted life of the present day, wherein each man is dependent upon countless others about him, the separate responsibilities of life are so well met, after all, that life functions as a whole. Moreover, I think that the time has come for us to recognize, even under the shadow of the sorrows which the War imposed, that in spite of everything, civilization did survive and is recovering. Herein is signified inherent strength and power of resistance, which justifies confidence that more and more the current of life will deposit its sediment and will clarify itself, and that it will constantly become a more beautiful stream, as adjustments compensate for its greater power.

Likewise, I believe that neither realism nor idealism alone presents an adequate philosophy of life, according to the technical definitions commonly attached to these respective terms. I hold any theory of idealism futile and harmful which does not know and acknowledge the facts and implications of realism. I believe, on the other hand, that a genuine realism involves idealistic tenden-

cies, and that this fact and the cravings back of it are fundamental attributes which have led mankind onward and upward from the status which characterizes the beast.

Light is as real as darkness, cleanliness is as real as filth, virtue is as real as vice, and intelligence is as real as ignorance. Shall we not, then, accept as real the fact that man has travelled far from his original station, and that he has demonstrated capacity to push forward his advance continually towards heights even yet far removed?

At least, such is my belief, and it is from such convictions as this, and from others which I have stated, that the substance of my talks before you will be drawn.



## LECTURE NUMBER I

### ASSOCIATIONALISM

THE thesis which I wish to suggest for your consideration is this:

Man most approaches divinity in his ability to devise thought and to apply this to action which shall lead him away from error and towards truth. Civilization in the present era cannot safely rely upon the old methods of trial and error for preservation of its social values, to say nothing of their enhancement.

Neither can it bear with reckless experimentation. Society is in the precarious situation where to stand still is impossible and to move without intelligent forethought may be calamitous. It is not a time for doctrinaire, dogmatic or self-sufficient thinkers or doers. It is not a time when the attitude can be condoned which reckons life in terms of what can be secured rather than in terms of what can be conferred.

Self-centeredness and selfishness have become not only impracticable but intolerable. The desirability of and possibilities for individualism remain restricted only by the obligation to work outward and not inward, to work for mankind and not for individual ends. And

finally, man being a self-determining creature capable of rational thought, has within himself the potentiality for creating and utilizing forces sufficient to withstand those forces which beset him and his kind from without.

In former times, when life was more simple, and when the great facts of life were less obscured by fog banks of petty detail, there developed a marvellous people, who first held that the purpose of life was intelligent action, and that intelligent action was dependent upon thought, honestly conceived, and disinterestedly applied to direct the affairs of men.

One of the foremost spokesmen of these, Plato, expressed the proposition thus: "Until philosophers are kings, or the kings and princes of this world have the spirit and power of philosophy, and political greatness and wisdom meet in one, and those commoner natures who pursue either to the exclusion of the other, are compelled to stand aside, cities will never have rest from their evils,—no, nor the human race, as I believe,—and then only will this, our state, have a possibility of life and behold the light of day."

It is a great weakness of our own time that we so naturally accept and acquiesce in the theory of an inevitable, and even desirable, distinction between our thinkers and our doers, and thus likewise each unhappily tends to underestimate the social values of the efforts of the other within these groups.

Is it not to be assumed that a foundation such as this, under whose auspices we are gathered, is established for its possible influence in bridging this gap? If so, shall we not further argue that its purpose should be insistent and reiterated emphasis upon the importance of combining in one the qualities now divided between the two groups.

In the first place, what, in the development of the thought and the attendant actions of mankind, is the background into which we must look, behind the problems of man, individually and collectively today?

I have been told of a greatly respected old-time teacher at Yale, who used to begin his course in science with a lecture on "Geography When the World Was Flat." Knowing his thesis, it is not difficult to reconstruct his argument that the same limited knowledge and restricted thinking which accepted the theory of a flat world, accepted needless restriction of all kinds. Unconscious of his vast ignorance, unobservant of data upon which to base general laws, and lacking understanding of the universe, man lived subject to, and satisfied with, deductions based on occasional facts. Fear governed action, and the unknown was avoided and therefore was unsolvable. Natural phenomena, or perhaps even the fall of an individual man over a cliff, indicated jealous gods forbidding approach to the mountain. Tumultuous seas and an occasional death by drowning

warned of the avenging deities of the deep. The very real terrors of darkness led to belief in demons of the night.

Discussion based on such a theme might well be held frequently in any group, to trace the processes by which the mind of man has so largely been relieved of the heavy shackles imposed by fear. Moreover, consideration could profitably be given in any group at any time to the extent to which fear is the child of ignorance. Likewise, there might be profit for many of us in considering how completely man's sense of proportion is warped when he lives in a flat world, to which the rest of the universe is deemed to be contributing, rather than upon a round earth which is recognized as an infinitesimal part of space.

The change in thinking called for in the transition in speculation from the affairs of a flat world to a round earth is colossal. Accompanying such transition, the slavery of fear gives place to the freedom of knowledge, and the littleness of thought associated with local areas gives way to the greatness of imagination invited by infinite space. One of the first essentials for him who would live a life of fruitful thought is that he should frequently project himself into a consideration of the greatness of life. This is our privilege, if we will but claim it.

All of this implies inevitable change in the future, as has been true in the past, and we may learn some-

thing in regard to the influence of change upon the minds of men by observing those types which fear it and resent it and those other types which welcome change as desirable. Stability is not necessarily disassociated from motion. On the other hand, progress is impossible without movement.

Looking down the corridors of time, I believe that we must find ourselves in agreement with Froude's conclusions as to the sterility of times "in which the forms of the fathers' thoughts were the forms of the sons", and the late descendant was occupied in treading into paths the footprints of his distant ancestors." Froude continues: "So absolutely has change become the law of our present condition that it is identified with energy and moral health; to cease to change is to lose place in the great race; and to pass away from off the earth with the same convictions which we found when we entered it, is to have missed the best object for which we now seem to exist."

Man is the legatee of the ages. He has it within his grasp to be the heir of the future. Here and now he is the predominant form of life upon this planet, and thus for the time remains, as the Greeks long ago designated him, "the measure of all things."

Whether we adopt Pope's thesis that an honest man's the noblest work of God, or Robert Ingersoll's that an honest God is the noblest work of man, we are left with

the implication of responsibility for what we are, and what we do.

We are not relieved of this even if we accept Mark Twain's cynical conclusion as stated in his recent autobiography, that man was most likely not made intentionally, and that his working himself up out of the oyster bed to his present position has been probably a matter of surprise and regret to the Creator.

It is a condition, and not a theory, in which we are involved, and we must chiefly be concerned with what is, rather than what might have been. An hypothesis of powerlessness would not account for man's place on the earth. If we are not powerless, we need not be futile.

The progress of mankind cannot be pictured as the steady advance of a solid column down the ages. Rather, it is the common tendency in movement of various bands scurrying to and fro, sometimes forward and sometimes back, but always eventually abandoning the positions which formerly they held, and moving on to new locations which, wisely chosen, have proved likewise to be new opportunities.

Always heretofore, however, the human race has been protected from the possibility of mass destruction by the comparative isolation of these groups, one from another. An approximate law of compensation has existed, and it has worked for the preservation of the race and the safety of mankind, as a whole, because of the neutraliz-



ing barriers of space and time which separated different assemblies among the multiform units of population, living widely distributed over the face of the earth, and subject to widely varied conditions.

Did famine starve one portion of the earth, rich harvests prevailed in another. Did pestilence depopulate one group, health prevailed elsewhere. Did war scourge one land, sweet peace blessed another. Did labor-pains of social revolution rack the frame of one civilization, delay in conception made improved midwifery and more skilful medical practice available for another.

So far as the great experiments of civilization have been concerned, the conditions in the earth were analogous to those of a great fire-proof and explosion-proof edifice enclosing a multitude of individual chambers, within which the havoc of an unfortunate experiment in one was of minor importance to the use of the structure as a whole.

Changing the figure of speech, for devastated and stricken areas of suffering, there were always the great reserve areas of health on which to draw when time was ripe for rehabilitation. For peoples impoverished in body and soul and mind, there were the reserves elsewhere available of economic surpluses, undepressed souls and courageous minds. No influence could be enough widespread in area nor enough coincident in time with like influences at other points so but what mankind at large

could reasonably remain indifferent to activities which became operative here or there.

Consequently, adversities became of little more than local and temporary significance, while, on the other hand, proved benefits endured, expanded slowly in their influence, and gradually became pervasive for the welfare of constantly enlarging proportions of the world's population.

Life has been classified by a thoughtful writer on human affairs into three groups: plants, the energy binders; animals, the space binders; and men, the time binders. The power of the plant is no greater than the energy which it can absorb from sun and air and earth. The animal, no matter how powerfully formed, nor how undisputed his sway over a territory which he can patrol, lacks access to experience of the past and ability to project his personality in the future. But man endures, creating, conserving and transmitting.

In exercise of this prerogative as a binder of time, the two great bands with which time has been bound have been the spoken word and the written character. By utilization of speech, man established contact with his fellows and acquired the experience of generations immediately before him. In this way he transmitted himself and his added experience into generations immediately succeeding. Later, by the invention and adoption of the written character, man made it possible for succeeding

generations to encompass the past and to embrace the future, and so to become, in very fact, a part of eternity. Thus arose man's interest in enduring values and his solicitude for the establishment of institutions to conserve these. Thus arose the incentives for the creation of surpluses and the insistence that men should recognize that wealth in any form, material or intellectual or spiritual, is not a limitless reservoir which can be drawn upon indefinitely without exhaustion, but rather that the greater the drain upon it, the greater the creative and productive processes must be which replenish it.

It is requisite that we remember that with all we have learned, how little, nevertheless, we still know! If we were to represent the estimated life of man by a line fifty feet long, we could represent the period of recorded life since writing was devised by a line not more than seven inches long, the length of my hand. It will thus be understood why it is not always possible to untangle cause and effect in the shadow-period of man's life, before he became a time binder.

Yet hypothesis, based on known experience, does much for us. Somewhere, somehow, at some earlier time, man discovered two great facts,—that the structure of the roof of his mouth made him capable of making a variety of sounds which might be utilized for signalling his friends and for frightening his foes, and further that the adaptability of his fingers, with their wonderful off-

setting thumbs, made arms and hands instruments too valuable to walk upon. So he raised himself erect above the animals of the field and the forest and, with new and upright posture, arrogated to himself the position which he has since held as king of the earth.

There is not time to go into a discussion of the physical and the mental advantages that were brought about in man's estate by this raising of his eyes to a new level, but I wonder sometimes if it would not be well for us to heed the analogy. I wonder if it would not be well for us more frequently, after we have been for long time stooping over the familiar task or plodding through the daily routine, to draw ourselves erect and to look about us with the new range of vision given us by eyes on a higher level. And I wonder, furthermore, if at bottom such is not the meaning of a gathering like this, that for a little time we may change the perspective of life and that we may disregard our own special interests, to look farther and to observe what kind of a world this is in which we live.

I have earlier bespoken the reservations necessary in regard to our conception of the infallibility of words as a medium of expressing thought. There is another aspect of this matter. Mr. Rudyard Kipling, in his installation address as Rector of St. Andrews, made interesting comment, in his inimitable way, on the continuing prevalence in the world of error and on the restricted area in

proportion in which truth prevails. He cited the difficulties under which early man in competition with his rivals sustained his life by strategy, deceit and camouflage. He reached the conclusion that the power of speech when first developed must have been accepted primarily as a new and powerful medium for perfecting these devices of untruth and making new misrepresentations, and then he continues:

“Imagine the wonder and delight of the First Liar in the World when he found that the first lie overwhelmingly outdid every effort of his old mud-and-grass camouflages with no expenditure of energy! Conceive his pride, his awe-stricken admiration of himself, when he saw that, by mere word of mouth, he could send his simpler companions shinning up trees in search of fruit that he knew was not there, and when they descended, empty and angry, he could persuade them that they, and not he, were in fault, and could dispatch them hopefully up another tree. Can you blame the creature for thinking himself a god? The only thing that kept him within bounds must have been the discovery that this miracle-working was not confined to himself. . . .

“Man knows that, at any moment, he can tell a lie, which, for a while, will delay or divert the workings of cause and effect. Being an animal who is still learning to reason, he does not yet understand why, with a little more, or a little louder, lying, he should not be able

permanently to break the chain of that law of cause and effect—the justice without the mercy—which he hates, and to have everything both ways in every relation of his life. In other words, we want to be independent of facts.”

Now, for an understanding of facts it is helpful to utilize the opportunities being given us in such enlarged measure day by day to review events, and to study implications derived from knowledge of the remote past. The desirable scope of our thinking may thus be vastly increased, and its results may be helpful to the present affairs and future relations of mankind. More important still, however, thuswise may we come to some knowledge of those instinctive attitudes and actions relating to problems of the present time, whose origins lie far back in conditions of life in the childhood of the race.

Turning to some aspects of life today, two significant facts stand out. In the first place, it is a much smaller world than ever before, with all of the complications which arise from gathering an increased population into a decreased area. Secondly, it is a world of greater specialization, of greater concentration of interest, for the average man than ever before. No longer do the self-contained communities exist which only a few decades ago we knew. No longer do the peoples undertake to comprise within their respective boundaries all of the



known processes which make for life and comfort, but rather they devote themselves to those things which they can do best, and leave to others their similarly specialized contributions to society as a whole.

Thus it comes about that life today offers the paradox that the same conditions of increased intimacy which drive men into contact with each other physically closer than ever before, at the same time isolate them from each other mentally more completely than ever before, through the necessarily complicated organization of society, the higher specialization of effort, and the complete mental absorption therein, which it is difficult to avoid.

Under such circumstances, it is easy to lose sight of what fullness of life really is and to lose remembrance of the fact of the unity of knowledge. So it may easily come about that the human mind, working at greater intensity and comprehending more things than ever in the records of time, as it does, may still know less of life and see less of its significance than has been true of many a previous generation.

Does someone ask that I explain what I mean by the decreased size of the world? I mean simply this, that distance is not a matter of measured miles, but is a matter of the time it takes to get somewhere or the time that it takes to communicate with somebody. I recently saw a map showing the reduced size of the United

States so far as postal communication went, due to the mail plane service. According to this, taking Omaha as the center, the boundaries of the United States had shrunk to dimensions within the boundaries of two or three of the neighboring states to Nebraska. Not long since I received a cablegram from Paris, delivered at my door within forty minutes from the time that it was sent from Paris.

Examples could be multiplied indefinitely, but I ask you to compare these simple facts with the fact that in Washington's administration the traffic from Boston to New York, the two great commercial centers of the country, was adequately cared for by two coaches and twelve horses. Under the most favorable circumstances, the traveller, rising before light, disembarking after dark, confined and cramped for fifteen or sixteen hours a day, was landed in New York at the end of six days.

McMaster quotes a letter from Theodosia Burr to her husband in March 1784, in which she describes her terror at his undertaking the fearful trip from New York City to Paulus Hook, now Jersey City. This was the especial dread of travellers between the east and the west. Great blocks of ice filled the river in the winter months from either bank far out into the channel. On windy days the waves were high, and in all except the calmest weather, the trip was one not to be undertaken except in direst necessity. Mrs. Burr writes: "Every

breath of wind whistled terror, every noise at the door was mingled with hope of thy return and fear of thy perseverance, when Brown arrived with the word 'Embarked,' the wind high, the water rough. . . . A tedious hour elapsed when our son was the joyful messenger of the news of your safe landing at Paulus Hook."

It is not necessary to dwell upon the changed conditions of society in a time when a message is clicked from one end of the earth to another instantaneously, and when men from the Pacific Coast, with expedition and in comfort, cross the Rockies, traverse the plains, bridge mighty rivers, and embark for Europe from our eastern ports,—or when we of the East reverse the process for a trip to the Orient.

Moreover, if we extend this principle of the easy contact of one person with another, we must likewise ask to what extent we can hold to the principles of Washington's time in recognizing our contacts with those peoples across the sea who, at this moment, are as near to us in point of time and in point of accessibility as were the people of New England to New York one hundred and forty years ago.

We are interdependent upon each other as individuals and as peoples for the variety of the menu which is served upon our tables; for the fabric which is grown, the thread which is spun, the cloth which is woven, and the suits which are fashioned for our daily garb; for

the nitrates which fertilize our fields, for the gems which beautify our ornaments, yes, and even for the metal from which our money is coined! It is not a rare thing for a great industrial plant to collect raw materials from dozens of foreign countries. Where, then, is a theory of national isolation possible except in a politician's mind?

The interdependence of man upon man and people upon people has become increased already beyond what our understanding can comprehend, and the processes which make for this interdependence have only just begun. It is as though the peoples of this planet had been interned upon an earth of less than a tenth of the former size, a fact which acquires added significance in view of the problems of increasing population. Standing thus closely together, the man who raises his hand in the United States may signal a movement either corrective or destructive to the citizens of Europe, and the explosive force of an idea generated in one portion of the earth may easily become, as indeed it has become, a source of apprehension and dread to all other portions.

This is the first fact for us to understand, that detachment, isolation, segregation, whatever you choose to call a condition which allows men to live separately from one another and allows peoples to live separately from one another, is no longer possible. Idealists may wish it were so, political partisans may argue that it is so, and

philosophers may discuss what would be possible if it were so, but realists understand and must insist, that it is no longer so.

So much for the first specification of my paradox, that conditions exist which put men into closer contact with each other than ever before. What shall be said of the second, that through specialization of effort and consequent professionalization of point of view, necessary to the involved life of the present day, men are separated from each other in unprecedented manner?

No statment of this phase has ever been better made than that made by Ralph Waldo Emerson decades ago. He cited the ancient fable that God created man, and finding how incompetent he was, divided him into men for the diverse tasks for which he was made responsible, as the hand was divided into fingers. He stated that for complete satisfaction in life one needed periodically to recall himself from his specialized task and to see the dignity of his work as a component part of life as a whole.

The planter sent out into the field to gather food, Emerson continues, seldom derives cheer by any understanding of the importance of his ministry, and sees only his bushel and his cart, rather than the great economic significance of husbandry to the world at large. Hence, the planter sinks into the farmer rather than rising to the status of man on the farm. The tradesman seldom sees

the ideal worth of his work, but is ridden by the routine of his craft. The priest tends to become a form, the lawyer a statute book, the mechanic a machine, the sailor a rope. If we would know man, therefore, we must know men and understand the dignity and sympathize with the exigencies that arise from the individual groups. Thus it comes about that to consider man as a whole rather than a professionalized part, we must consider society as a whole, in which alone can we see man in his completeness. Man is not a banker, a lawyer, a physician nor an educator, following his specialized task alone and influenced only by his professionalized interest, but man is all of these, and all that is comprised in other men should minister to him.

Thus the evils of specialization are painted for us. Yet, all of the conditions of modern life require greater specialization of our activities, and consequently influence greater professionalization of point of view than in any previous generation. Therefore, only by recognition of this fact and by deliberate attempt to offset it, calling ourselves continuously back to the needs of man as a whole, may we live with understanding and with advantage to generations which shall follow us. Only so may we meet the requirements of our trusteeship of those values which previous generations have put into our hands and which we in turn shall transmit to others.



If, meanwhile, some say, as the individualists do, that all this is no interest of theirs, and that they will have no part in it, answer cannot be better made than was made in the words of the ancient logician, Paul: "For the body is not one member, but many. If the foot shall say, Because I am not the hand, I am not of the body; it is not therefore not of the body. And if the ear shall say, Because I am not the eye, I am not of the body, it is not therefore not of the body. If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing, where were the smelling? And if they were all one member, where were the body? But now they are many members, but one body. And the eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee; nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you. And whether one member suffereth, all the members suffer with it; or one member is honored, all the members rejoice with it."

It remains as true today as it was in that ancient time, that if all the members were an eye, there would be no body, and if all the members were a foot, there would be no body, but that the body as a whole is dependent upon the cooperation of all its members, great and small, and that no man has a right to work or to think of life in part or in whole without consideration of this fact.

If the reasoning projected by what I have said heretofore be valid, it must be true on the negative side that



individual satisfaction and individual success can be sought legitimately only in such ways as do not harm or endanger group welfare. On the positive side man as an individual, in his capacity as a thinker and a doer, must be solicitous for and a contributor to the common life of society as a whole; that is to say, man as a creature of specialized interests and specialized functions, is under obligations to conserve the interests of that complete man, which is the composite man, the great society, of which the individual man is a part.

There was a stage in the development of the modern science of organization in industry when the specialized function of departments was so emphasized that some men within these came to believe that the interests of the concern as a whole were none of their affair. I have, in times past, heard men of large ability say, in so many words, that they were working for a department showing, when objection was made to some procedure of theirs that it was reacting unfavorably on the condition of the concern as a whole.

Without attempting to elaborate upon this in too great detail, in social relations this is still the attitude of many a man with reference to that department of life of which he has become a member by birth, by vocation, or by aggressive self-attainment. Consequently, many a man condemns himself to the smaller and less

worthy achievement of departmentalized living for lack of knowledge and for want of intelligent self-purpose to live in contact with life as a whole.

If our specialized function in life be that of an eye, surely we should devote all possible effort to seeing well, and should cultivate our powers to the end that we may see better, or, if our facility be in hearing, let us perfect ourselves as ears, but let us never lose sight of the fact that it is the whole body which we are called upon to serve.

The human mind is confronted at the present time with a multitude and a complexity of problems far beyond that which it has ever been called upon to meet before. Constantly we are summoned to consider some new aspect of the matter with clarion cries that herein lies salvation for our generation. It is not unlike the situation in the war when we were successively told that the war would be won by ships at sea, by men in the trenches, by artillery, by airplanes, by industrial forces, by food conservation, by liberty loans or by moral resistance and spiritual forces. All these statements were true, and yet no one of them was complete truth.

So today, from newspaper offices, college halls, church pulpits, lecture platforms and soap-box rostrums, we hear specifications of the particular peg upon which civilization hangs, the location of this being largely influ-

enced by the special interest of the source from which the advice comes.

Even at risk of seeming to join this group, I would state my own belief that no more vital matter is presented to us in these days than this question of the relation of the individual to the group. How may we best preserve the initiative, stimulus and interest of individualism and, at the same time, modify and adapt this so that it does not injure the association of individuals which we call society?

As "time binders," let us remember that the capacity has been placed within us to meet the gigantic forces which the age forces upon us from without. Somewhere I have seen statement ascribed to reputable engineers, that in a hundred years the physical forces of this country, available to the individual, have increased from two and one-half horse power to thirty-two horse power, and the question has been asked if we have developed the sense of individual and collective responsibility safely to be entrusted with this.

In like way, civilization asks whether we have the stamina to resist and to direct and to utilize the great economic, moral and spiritual forces which the age has unloosed. I believe we have. But I believe this stamina must be sought within and not without ourselves,—that it will be found in a coordination of emotional force,

religious interest and intellectual self-command that constitutes man at his best.

A few years ago I was taken down into a great tube which, inch by inch, was being pushed across the Hudson River. No metal known was strong enough to build a caisson to resist the tremendous pressure of the physical forces which beat upon that great nose of metal creeping steadily forward. Yet men within it worked in safety and assurance! How? By the compression of air to create a counter force. By the creation of forces within sufficiently great to withstand the impact of great pressures from without.

Our age is not an age for weaklings. Forces are existent within men adequate to meet those without, and these can be enhanced. But if vacuums of mind or heart or soul are not filled, then must our generation inevitably be one of collapse and of tragedy, a generation unworthy of its predecessors and unfair to its successors.

It need not, let it be emphasized, be such a generation. Evidences are all about us that it will not be. No generation has borne sorrow and misery more heroically, no generation has faced reality more frankly. For men of strength, life today is not merely a nerve-testing obligation, but it is an unbelievable opportunity, a glorious adventure, an unrivalled challenge. There are hosts of men of this type. Are we among them?

If so, for the sake of that complete manhood of the age, which is the society of the age, for the sake of the reputation of the generation in which we live, and for the sake of the inheritance to be received by generations yet unborn, let us strive with mind and heart and soul that man, the master of the earth, may be a worthy heir of the ages.

## LECTURE NUMBER II

### THE NEED OF WORKING HYPOTHESES

**T**HE question of evolving a working hypothesis for the intricate social conditions in our crowded world involves much the same truth that has been stated in regard to Christianity,—namely, that it is not that Christianity has been tried and found difficult but rather that it has been found difficult and never tried. Yet the time has been exceedingly brief, as time is reckoned, when there has been any real necessity for erecting such an hypothesis which included factors of crowded populations. But little time ago, the man of pioneering instinct, impatient under restraint and eager for opportunity for self-determination, could, by changing his habitat, secure the isolation which his soul craved.

There was in the latter part of the eighteenth century an elderly settler, the only one, in a brook valley in what is now a township of southern New Hampshire. He had made his clearing in the forest. He had erected his buildings. He had gathered stock about him and he had become well-to-do. Then moved into the brook valley five miles below another man and every day the old settler got up and looked down the brook valley and saw, in a

wisp of smoke, the evidence of his neighbor. One morning he arose with determination and started to pack. He gathered his stock preparatory to driving it a hundred miles north into the wilderness. Responding to query as to what he intended to do, he said he was moving out because "The world had not yet become so small that he had got to look at anybody's smoke."

We have herein the spirit of individualism, which was necessary to its time for the settling and development of this country. It was necessary that such a spirit be rampant in men's hearts and minds if they were to brave the hardships of crossing the Atlantic and were to settle this continent. It was necessary that the spirit of individualism rage always within a people if they were to cross the Appalachians, to subdue the plains, to bridge the rivers and to climb the Rockies, and finally to gain the Pacific slope, fanning out meanwhile in conquest of the South and the North.

There comes a period, however, within the history of every nation when physical impediments having been overcome, and when material obstacles having been conquered, civilization turns back upon itself. Then the conflict which has hitherto been held with nature becomes a conflict among men and between classes. Such a time is at hand among us, and except that conflict in this great United States can become transmuted into co-



operation and a thing of common concern to find the right solution, we must reconcile ourselves to the fact that sooner or later our nation goes the way that other nations have gone under circumstances not entirely different. It is for this reason that we need to put our attention as never before upon the affairs of the world as inclusive rather than exclusive. It is for this reason that instead of emphasizing the points of difference which exist among us and which exist among the peoples of the earth, it ought to be our effort to put our emphasis upon those things which bind men together, excluding consideration of minor things until we may give our attention to them as a united group. It is for this reason that society must and will disregard those who dwell insistently upon their rights in favor of those who think upon their obligations.

We recognize the principle and make some approach toward inclusiveness at minor points. We at the present time gather as lawyers in bar associations. As doctors we assemble in medical societies. All professional men have their professional groups. Likewise, the industrial leaders combine in manufacturers' associations and the workingmen combine in labor unions. Even more than that, we have combinations within the communities. The combinations, representative of community delegation of their responsibilities,—the police responsibility, the

fire responsibility, the board of health,—all of these have to be collective and cooperative responsibilities and to be accepted as such to be effective.

But these are not enough, for the process is only evident in elementary stages and underneath them all we have the problems of the cleavages which have come through the processes of social evolution. These at the present time thrust themselves into the face of every people upon the earth. Not only that! They thrust themselves into the mind of every thinking individual, demanding a solution and threatening, unless that solution is found, the calamity which must inevitably come.

Nevertheless we fail to make concerted attack upon some problems of which we are but dimly conscious while we deliberately withhold from recognizing others. Let me cite two of these, one having to do with the scientific field, bearing upon social relations, and the other derived from the industrial.

Dr. Alexis Carrel, recently in an address, spoke of the contribution of science to the immunity from epidemics, whereby men could live and work, crowded into great cities. He expressed doubt whether this victory had brought much happiness into the world, and stated that study must be made of "the properties of nerve cells, the nature of nervous energy and the significance of telepathic phenomena. No one suspects the manner in which memory, intelligence, courage, judgment and imagina-

tion are connected with the brain cells. It is obvious that the functions of the brain must be better understood in order that, without intellectual or moral deterioration, the human race may stand the new conditions of life imposed on the individual by modern civilization."

Let us turn to a case more obvious to the layman. The effects of the war are monumental effects. Yet these are not as remote and as complicated in some of their phases as we are likely to assume. Take the question of immigration alone. From the period 1909 to 1914, the net immigration into this country, a potential addition to the productive force of the country, was somewhere about 4,000,000. But from the period 1914-1919 it shrank to only a little over 400,000. Now if you have a shrinkage in the normal accretion to the productive force of the country of something over 90 per cent in a half decade, even if there be no later shrinkage, you are going to have, as we did have, industrial shortages; you are going to have wage increases; you are bound to have most of the complications which arise from the upsetting of the law of supply and demand in regard to labor, such as we have had in recent years, and a subsequent effect upon all social relations.

But this is not the most important phase of even that particular question. If you go back to 1870 more than 98 per cent of the immigration into the United States was coming from the far northwestern corner of Europe,

while a decade later, only forty years ago, the figure was above 90 per cent. If you go back to 1880, you will find that the center of emigration from Europe to the United States was located just a little outside of Antwerp.

Let us analyze just for a moment what that means. It means that the emigration which was coming from Europe to the United States through all previous time and at that particular period was an emigration from countries which had essentially the same basic speech as had the inhabitants of the United States. But more important than that, they were coming from countries where law and order had been established from time immemorial, and where the sense of law and the recognition of law were entirely apart from any thought of tyranny, oppression or injustice. It meant that the immigrants were coming to the United States from the British Isles, from France, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands and from the Scandinavian countries.

If you examine the census of 1920 you will find that this immigration has shrunk to 23 per cent and that the center of emigration from Europe to the United States has moved southeast across Europe and is located at a point just a little outside of Budapest. This means that 77 per cent of the emigration which has come to the United States in recent years is emigration from countries which, through long ages, have known little except tyranny and autocracy, to whom the word "law" is a

mockery, whose speech is fundamentally unlike our own, and whose representatives have come to us with a previously established and strong suspicion of every sort of authority or control that government tries to exercise.

We have no justification now in being self-righteous in regard to these people or these facts. No genuine attempt, based on public interest, was ever possible, to try to anticipate results which were certain to accrue and are accruing. Fundamentally, the development of the unwholesome plan of this emigration to the United States, and the encouragement of it, was an industrial exploitation, about which we gave ourselves no concern, to secure a working group sufficiently without knowledge, and sufficiently without access to knowledge, so that it could not be able quickly to aspire to the better conditions which the more intelligent emigration from the western part of Europe had aspired to and achieved.

And it should be added that until within very recent years there had but seldom been a bona fide attempt on the part of American industry to absorb these groups of people. I could even now cite industrial corporations where I have been and where it has been stated confidentially that the less these people know about American institutions and the less access that they have to American speech, the better for American labor and American industry in the long run.

Was there ever wisdom in ascribing large solicitude

for social welfare or even national safety to men who were willing to think in such terms! Who were these men? They were men of like mental inertia as was ours!

We find problems thrust upon us from the outside, and we find, as well, problems such as this arising from within our midst, due to a general theory, from which we have not yet got away, that the common labor production of the world is the responsibility of a class by itself, and that unless some men are artificially kept within that class, we shall be short of labor which we need, and industry will, therefore, be handicapped. We have not yet, as a national industrial establishment, reached the point where we can recognize,—or we haven't recognized at least,—that as the intelligence of labor is built up so the facilities for industrial production increase. Then new devices and new processes are found for the accomplishment of subordinate tasks, the economic surplus of the world grows, and being increased, adds to the comforts and satisfaction and the happiness of every man and woman and child within the confines of the civilization in which we live.

The world war came like a lightning flash on a summer's night, and revealed not only the beauties of the things which we held dear in civilization, but it also revealed all that was unattractive and disagreeable, to which we had been shutting our eyes listlessly for so long a period. We have been passing through a time



when we have been not so much among conditions which were a complete change or a complete reversal from what had existed before, as among conditions which imposed the necessity of meeting an accelerated evolution. Within the period of a comparatively brief time we have been having to solve hundreds of problems with which under ordinary circumstances we should probably have had leisure to deal during decades to come.

We have been cognizant of the fact for long ages that it is necessary accurately to calculate and to estimate the forces of stress and strain upon material substances if we are to be safe among these. Yet with all the progress that has been made in the accuracy of such mathematical formulae, and with the analogies of the process before us, it seems to have been only comparatively recently that there has been any consciousness in the human mind that civilization is subject to stresses and strains which can possibly be calculated. Hence the question arises, can we devise the social equations and can we codify obvious facts sufficiently to draw up the formulae by which to judge to what extent society can bear the pressure of contemporary conditions? Can we evolve the reckoning to know how to meet the strains that are put upon life today?

We see a great ocean liner balanced with bow and stern overhanging the giant wave which is tossing it about, and if we think of it in physical terms, we marvel



at the accuracy of estimate which has made possible the fabricating of anything capable of standing such a strain, first, of being supported in the middle with both ends unsupported, and next of being supported only at the ends, and thus to face great storms and giant seas with hardly a quiver!

We go to the heights of the sky-scraper of the city and we are without apprehension in regard to the hurricane which rages without, or, indeed, concerning the possibility of earthquakes beneath. We know that it has been built in conformity with formulae, perfected through long years and often proved, by which possible strains could be accurately calculated and provided for.

We stand perhaps and view the first lowering of a great arm of a cantilever bridge and we see thousands of tons of fashioned metal settle quietly into the position within the hundredth of an inch for which it was planned, because of our command of knowledge of how such results can be made certain.

Thus it is, wherever we go, in lofty building, on bridge or viaduct, in ocean liner or railroad train, all about us we find the absolute reliance, the infallible conviction, and almost complete justification for our belief that we are safe, because of the precision with which these formulae have been evolved and are applied. In like way there is a necessity upon us—and not only is the necessity upon us, but the possibility is before us—of evol-

ing from this world laboratory of conflict and controversy to an extent that has never been possible before, something of like kind and like measure in the way of social laws, which will enable us to protect the structure of society against the stresses and the strains which are increasingly existent, which though formerly merely a local hazard in any particular case, may, under the changed conditions of modern life, be a world-wide threat. The first step is to realize our need of such knowledge, and the second is to stop stoning our prophets who seek this!

In the days of Rome it was pronounced by law to be a sacrilege worthy of heavy punishment to suggest the possibility that an eclipse was due to natural causes. What a contrast with the conditions of today when men mobilize all of the facilities of scientific investigation for an event long foreknown and foretold as to place and time!

Yet the arrival at knowledge which created the formulae by which such exactness had been made possible, was a station upon a road wherein men had been persecuted, tortured, executed for their temerity and the presumptuousness in wishing to walk along it. That great host of men possessed of flat-world minds has never looked kindly upon those rare individuals of a round earth who sought to learn about a universe that they might understand a globe.

Always there have been the inquisitions and the attempted coercions and compulsions instituted by those who have believed that the completeness of knowledge had been accomplished, that all improvement had been secured, and that at last the perfect realization of life's best had been achieved, with the inevitable complementary assumption that any change would be a calamity.

Science is never a static thing. The processes of scientific thought are not something which have been finished in the past. They are not finished now. They never will be finished. But science is something which is calculated on the basis of known factors and intelligent imagination which lead us to working hypotheses in regard to factors which are not known; and as these become known, our science becomes the more accurate and moves on to new speculations and the codifying of new truths.

In the evolution of science, we have to be on our guard not only against those things which would subtract from the benefit which the findings of science might work, but also against those things which would detract from the accuracy with which it might be applied. The most fatal thing to the scientific spirit is the closed mind. With respect to an attempt to devise a working hypothesis of social relations it is necessary for us, if we wish to make progress, if we wish to have any helpful hand in evolving such formulae as those of which I have been speaking, to be especially on our guard that our

minds are at all times open. We should not forego convictions, but we should hold these always subject to re-examination. We cannot tolerate the inertia which makes us decline to take into consideration the new factors which come to our observation. We ought to be at all times open-minded and keen visioned, seeking for the new things which can be developed and which might work for the constructive benefit of those things with which we are primarily concerned.

The favorite figure of the philosophers for all times with respect to closed-mindedness has been blindness. One of the most suggestive poems in our language is Zangwill's poem, *Blind Children*, in which he pictures the possible joys of a group of children who have always been blind, if only suddenly as they came to maturity they might have their eyes opened to the beauties of nature all about them. William James wrote one of his greatest essays on *A Certain Blindness in Human Beings*, and the particular figure in regard to blindness which seems to me perhaps most important of all is the reputed statement of one of the ancients in regard to his wife's fool, who was blind, in which he said that the tragedy of the fool's blindness was not that she was blind but that she therefore thought all the world was black.

Let us apply this principle for a few moments to that most conspicuous phase of present-day social organization, the industrial phase. Blindness is not confined to

men of the industrial world, and its extent may not be greater there than elsewhere. But there it can be seen and its effects noted more tangibly than in other manifestations of our social organization.

You who have to do with industrial management, those of you who have to do with trying to convince people, who are not interested, in the desirability or necessity of new methods which shall carry them on to an advanced technique and the opportunities of increased production, realize that one of the most fatal things which we have in the industrial situation is that certain blindness,—the blindness of the limited intellect in a man who has come to industrial power, which renders it impossible for him to see and makes him think that all the world is black outside the range of what his limited vision covers.

There was an article written shortly before the war in one of the philosophical reviews, in which the query was made: "Is liberty a sufficient motive for state action?" And, in that, the question was frankly faced as to whether or not the world is the gainer by a sense of freedom except as that freedom is accepted with sense of responsibility and is utilized for constructive purposes. This is a fair question to ask. What is the advantage of freedom if we are not to utilize that freedom for something of social value to man in his completest self, which is society as a whole?

In our own great nation, with all that it signifies to us and all that it promises to us, we have been given the opportunity of freedom from tyranny and autocracy of every sort in mental and spiritual and physical sense. Under this we have had the opportunities for developing rounded strength, such opportunities as the world has never known.

We come then to the question as to the way in which that freedom is to be used. We as individuals and as a people have had the freedom from. Now we come to the issue, what that freedom is for.

Ramsay Muir made statement at one time, not long after the war, in which he courteously refrained from naming the United States, but in which he said that the whole world at that time might be represented by the analogy of a group of Alpine climbers roped together. All but two of them had fallen over the face of the precipice; one of these was with difficulty maintaining his balance upon the edge, while the most capable and strongest of all was nervously unwinding from his waist the rope which alone could save the others from destruction!

If as a criticism of our national attitude this be in any way justified, or if the figure be true in any way of us in our individual dispositions toward the problems of the day, it simply means that with all the blessings which have been given to us, with all the freedom which we



have had, we still have not acquired the sense of responsibility, the *noblesse oblige*, which makes it right that we should have this *freedom from*, because we are not as yet possessed of enough responsibility to make us utilize it for the constructive purpose, interpreting it into terms of *freedom for*.

I don't believe this is the sense of our people. I don't believe this is the sense of the American nation as individuals. But I do think that we have constantly to be on our guard lest in some chance moment, or in the crowded business of all things about us, we forget and ignore the responsibility which we have at any given time and fail to devote ourselves to making proper accounting for the liberty which is ours.

These are some of the questions affecting things near to us. There is much more to say. But I will have to leave you to fill the gaps because I want very briefly to go on to suggest the point that the social formulae which must be established are not wholly inaccessible but on the contrary that the working hypotheses which must be devised if we are to be able to calculate the stresses and strains upon society, are to be found, and that the data are available if only we care to utilize them. For instance, let us consider the general unpreparedness for and our astonishment at social phenomena which followed the war.

If we go back the greater part of a thousand years



from the present period, we find all western Europe in ferment. We find communities which had scarcely ever had communication with communities a few miles away, ill at ease and youth in unrest. And we eventually see, under the impulse of the religious incentive which led men into the Crusades, the youth of western Europe arising and responding to a religious impulse and migrating down across Europe into the seacoast cities of Italy, whence we see them embarking and sailing for the Orient to wage religious war.

The point to be emphasized in this is that all history shows that almost invariably the reaction from war has been of the kind and largely in proportion to the power of the motive which led into the war.

There are surprising parallelisms, likewise, between the Crusades and the great transmigration of the recent war. To begin with, the youth of western Europe, as I have said, went to the seacoast cities of Italy to embark. The seacoast cities rapidly became seaports. A merchant marine was built. The men were transported. A system of finance which became international was devised. So the invading hosts were taken from Italy; but it was not profitable to bring back the empty ships and thus there were brought back into Europe the products of the Orient. Even in small details the changes in civilization were almost beyond calculation, as for instance to the tables of Europe, which had known hardly any variety

of diet, there were brought the spices and the sweets and the fruits of the Orient; and there were brought the styles and fabrics of clothing, the silks and satins.

More important than all these, there was brought the great accumulation of educational material and the great store of historical narrative of the past, long lost to the West. The classics were brought in; and what had been the period of intellectual darkness in Europe, became transformed into a dawning period of intellectual light. Men began to study and to think and to query. Then, brought back into that state of stimulated intellectual activity, there came increasingly the returning hosts from the Crusades; men who had been detached from their accustomed tasks, who had been separated from all that they before had held conventional and prescribed. And when they came back they came with agnosticism and with cynicism, and with the constant query of "Why?" on all lips.

Out of this there sprang eventually the greater intellectual revival, and in time the Protestant Reformation. This was of great advantage not only to the world, but was perhaps the greatest single advantage which ever came to the Roman Catholic Church, because out of the Protestant revival there came that great religious and intellectual challenge which made for a betterment of all conditions, within the Church as well as without.

Thus it resulted that the absolutism of the Church

was overthrown, which was the strongest and most powerful absolutism that the world had ever known,—overthrown by the natural reaction of a series of wars which had been stimulated and undertaken on the basis of a religious impulse.

It is to be noted, however, that absolutism has a way of not disappearing, but of shifting from one support to another. The Church having unloaded absolutism, it settled upon the shoulders of the State. The statecraft of the next few centuries became the absolutism of the time; and the greatest political absolutism of which it was possible to conceive.

Hastily passing over the centuries, we come to the wars of the eighteenth century, which were wars for political supremacy and the enhancement of the power of states. Then came the French revolution with its momentous consequences. The motive which had led to these wars in turn bred reaction in kind and in quantity, and we had, as a result, the beginning of the democratization of the State.

Again absolutism passed,—not out of the world, but onto the shoulders of a new power which was arising, influential within the Church, dominant within the State, the economic power. This power, beginning with the industrial revolution, can be briefly traced as follows: There was the development of the machine; there was the development of power to run the machine; machines

were then brought from dwellings and centralized around the power, and we had the beginning of the factory system. Later came factory design. Then followed in the train of these the matters of planning, routing, etc., and of scientific management. Then within the memories of us all, the attention to personnel.

Let us examine this movement now in progress, the breaking down of absolutism to which the economic power became heir from the State after the State had received it from the Church. I wish in this matter to be quite specific. I will again draw my illustrations from that field of modern life in which the working of the absolutism of the economic power has been most obvious and wherein it could be most easily studied, the field of industrial development. Likewise, it is in this field more than in any other that beginnings of a study must be made if we are to seek a social working hypothesis, which by long and careful correction may become a somewhat accurate formula for the building of human happiness.

I have been told that when the contracts for the barge canal in the State of New York were examined by Governor Hughes, he found that there were very careful specifications as to how the mules and horses should be fed and housed, but that there were no specifications whatever in regard to the treatment of the common labor. Whether or not the story is true in regard to this particular project, it is even at the present time true that

this principle has not been eliminated from some of the great contracting propositions of the country at large. Yet, due to the evolution of the principles of management, the time has come in which we have become conscious of the fact that not only the machine, the factory and power are important, but that eventually we must concede major importance to the individual.

We are entering into a period when intelligent management cannot be imagined which does not recognize that the source and very essence of the whole proposition in regard to the development of industry here in the United States resides in the incentive which can be afforded to the individual worker and the interest which can be aroused in him to secure production.

We have had this great war, out of which we are just trying to extricate ourselves. Fundamentally it was an economic war. The blockades were an economic weapon. The devastated areas were an economic weapon. The submarine was an economic weapon. As somebody has said, the armies were but the mailed fists, with which the warring nations struck. The strength of the war and the resources of the war were back in the shops and in the industries of the individual countries.

We had millions of men detached from the circumstances into which they had grown, and where inertia had been holding them with hardly a question in their minds. They went abroad. There they came into contact

with new customs and new peoples and they learned to think in new terms. There was an intellectual stimulation in the whole experience. Most important of all, they were relieved from boredom. Eventually, they came back into the United States of America with very much less of a disposition to accept what society arbitrarily had doled out to them without any consideration on their part. And they came back strong in the determination to regulate their individual lives to a degree such as never before has been within the determination of a people.

So, we are brought down to the latest fact that, just as was the absolutism of the Church, just as was the absolutism of the State, now the absolutism of this economic power is attacked. We come to the proposition further that the whole history of power, if we analyze it, has shown that authority flows from the few to the many; and that having flowed from the few to the many it is never restored to the few or recovered by them. Under those circumstances, it is no longer a debatable question whether we shall operate economically and industrially on the theory of absolutism. We come down to the proposition, pure and simple, that cooperation and mutualism, which have been found inevitable in other walks of life, which have been the result of the reactions of other impulses in previous wars, must be paramount and must be recognized to a degree to which they never have been recognized before.



Democracy would be a very deadening thing if out of this we were justified in drawing the conclusion that there is to be one vast level of population, one vast level of intelligence, one vast level of wealth. I have never been able to see anything plausible or attractive in a theory which subscribes to anything approximating this proposition. I believe that we are coming to a time when assertions of the Declaration of Independence must have an entirely new meaning to us. They must be interpreted as meaning that every individual shall have the opportunity, so far as it can be afforded, of developing to his maximum capacity.

Somebody says: "But hasn't that been so?" The answer is "No." I have talked with employers occasionally who have said that they thought in the large it has been so. But a safe challenge could be issued to anybody to go into some of the mills, or into the shops of this country and therein to find any evidence whatsoever that there had been until very recent times any such importance attached to the individual welfare of the man or woman worker as there has been attached to the mechanical equipment, or the great sources of power, or even the structures within which the work is done. We have had some such situation as this; whereas in the craft guild period the tools were owned by the individual man, and also the house in which he worked and trained his apprentice—those were the days of the apprentice who



desired to create an article that should be an advance on that of his master—we find ourselves today in a period when ownership of those tools and those houses has constantly become restricted, because it has not been possible for any except those with financial resources of increasing magnitude to control the tools by which industry is to be developed.

Parenthetically, I would state that I do not say this over-critically because I am not at all sure that the industrial revolution could have been utilized or could have been carried through, or perhaps could ever have been made profitable to society at all, unless there had been a period when attention was concentrated as it has been concentrated; and when those who were able to gain command of the sources of production did gain command of them and did develop them with a compact and quickly available supply of financial resources.

However, we have come to a time when the speed of the machine is generally recognized as not the only criterion of what the individual workman should do, but when opportunity for self-expression must be given to the individual workman as at no time in the past. If you put a thousand machines into a plant and you bring in a thousand men and train them simply to a standardized running of those machines to maximum capacity, you have ceased to have a thousand individuals there. You have come to have a class, a quota made up of a thou-

sand impersonal units out of which a dozen or a hundred can drop to be replaced by others who shall do the same standardized thing. Thus pride or joy in work has been destroyed. It is necessary, if we are going to get the increased production which it is necessary that we should have, if the prosperity of the world is to be enhanced,—it is necessary that we should put back into industry somehow the stimulus and the incentive to work on the part of the individual.

The proposition doubtless does not need to be argued in a group like this, that enthusiasm has never yet been increased by legislative enactment; that industry has never yet been increased by legal injunction; that production has never yet been increased to any extent by evangelistic oratory. But production, when it has been heretofore increased, has been increased by making the agencies or the tools of industry more effective and up to date. The advance in production to which the scientific management group in particular has contributed so much has been secured by making the mechanical equipment and the organization of industrial production more effective.

We have now come to the limit of that, except as it is carried on in hand with the development and the encouragement of the individual worker, which gives him a sense of responsibility and a stimulation to work, which makes him desire to work because of his under-

standing that economic wealth is created day by day and does not exist as a great reservoir, somewhere.

Education has a tremendous responsibility in this whole matter, and I do not mean by that simply the formal education which is given within the walls of an institution. I mean the education which comes from a general desire, bred in the minds of the public at large, that everybody's intellectuality shall be widened and deepened and made more powerful. If it were possible for us at the present day to get into the minds of men everywhere the fundamental fact that wealth isn't a great store which can be drawn upon indefinitely without exhaustion, but that wealth is that which day by day is created by the individual hands and the individual minds of the workers, under those circumstances I believe there are few in the country who would be so perverse as to wish not to meet their responsibility.

But we have had those scattered groups of other peoples from the ends of the earth, groups from Russia, and the great groups from southeastern Europe, who have known nothing whatever about our language, nothing about our institutions and nothing about the fundamental economics on which the social and industrial establishment of the country must stand, if it stands at all. Are we without responsibility for their ignorance?

And so, we come to this type question of social relations as to how, if at all, there can be put into the minds

of men the desire to work and further to the question whether there is the possibility in the disordered state of the present civilization of accomplishing anything in this way. The only answer that one can make in response to an interrogation like that is to point to experiment after experiment, success after success, all over the country, where the barriers have been taken down, where men have ceased to view work as an unpleasant job but have begun to look at work as something which interests them and of which they understand their part. For it is one of the accepted propositions at the present time,—somewhat accepted, at least and necessary to be accepted much more widely—that the production of the world is going on against the distinct disinclination of the productive force to produce; that as a matter of fact, the job, instead of being something which is done for the enjoyment of it, is something which is done in order that the means may be found for self-expression in some outside manner.

We ask, How are we to correct the fallacies in this reasoning? How for instance are we to get rid of this incessant demand for impossibly higher wages? How are we to get rid of the insistent demand for unreasonably low hours? Just as sure as can be, we are never going to get rid of these as long as work is something distasteful and is something entirely devoid of interest, and with respect to which the only opportunity for in-

dividual self-expression on the part of the worker comes solely within the hours and the activities outside the working period.

There may be a surfeit of cheap and tawdry ways by which the worker's self is expressed. Illegal, immoral things may be done; troublesome things may be done, irritating in the extreme. But the man who is working, simply to acquire the means for self-expression outside his job rather than for opportunity of self-expression within it, is going constantly to seek for more money and less hours in order that he may have greater opportunity out of working hours for self-enjoyment and a greater means whereby to secure it.

We have simply these two options: if industry cannot be maintained except on the present basis, then we must plan constantly to be met with the recurrent demand that hours be shortened and that pay be increased. Or, we have the opportunity on the other hand to inject back into industry something of the opportunity for self-expression, the development of one's personality, so that man shall understand his responsibility in the economic world and shall have some joy in meeting it.

This has been done and it has been done not infrequently. But the opposite condition too largely prevails. During the war some of us were interested in an experiment which was undertaken,—the introduction of patriotic speeches into the plants of the War Department, the

Navy Department, the Shipping Board, the Railroad Administration and elsewhere. I don't know how many of us were confident of results, but anyway, it was undertaken in good faith; and sincere men went about from place to place and they sang the glories of America, and then they ended with an earnest appeal to patriotism and to sustain production. Concerning this, a friend of mine wrote to me saying: "If anybody would tell me why I am boring a hole in a piece of steel four hundred and fifty times a day, I should go at my work with a spirit such as I have never had before." And then he continued: "I don't know whether this piece of steel goes into a machine to make a ship, into a ship itself, or whether it is put into a ship to take abroad, or whether something else is done with it. And when somebody asks me what I am doing in the war, I haven't the faintest idea and can't find out."

I went not long ago into a factory where they were making metal implements. A man was stamping out a little triangular piece of steel and I said to him: "What are you doing with that?" "I don't know." "Where does this come from?" "I don't know." "Where does it go to?" "I don't know. The only thing I know about it is I have to get out so many hundred an hour."

There is another plant, in many ways a model plant in this country, in which each day groups of fifteen or twenty visitors are taken through by guides and are



shown this process and that process, and are told the whole aim of the industrial establishment. One of the men in that establishment once said to me: "Why is it that all these people who don't work for this company can find out all of these interesting things about the Company's business and none of us who work for it can?"

These may appear to be small details, but they nevertheless represent some of the necessities under which the industries of America are laboring at the present time, that they shall, instead of continuing to subtract responsibility from the individual worker, begin to throw responsibility on him; that instead of considering the attempt to express personality and to show initiative a handicap for which a man should be disciplined or discharged, they shall consider such attributes an asset and shall see that the man is given his opportunity to work out what can be worked out on that basis.

The matter of shop committees, the matter of labor organizations, the matter of many similar things, is in the last analysis the simple desire on the part of the individual to feel himself a part of the business. I have been in labor meeting after labor meeting, where I have been perfectly sure that most of the speeches were not inspired so much by any idea of an innate weakness in the management or in the mechanical process of the plant, as because of a weakness of human understanding

in the company attitude toward its personnel. This repressed the individual man and made him simply bursting with a desire to express himself somewhere. Being unable to express himself in the plant, he went outside to express it,—and often expressed it in destructive terms calculated to work against the prosperity of that very thing on which he himself was dependent for his own welfare.

I had a personal experience in a strike a few years ago in which it was difficult,—not to say entirely impossible,—to find out what the real contention was. One day going through the halls of the building where I was at work, I met one of the girls who was leading the strike, and I turned to her and said: “What is it, anyway, that you people are after?” She looked at me, and tipping back her head in a laugh, said: “We are after just what we are getting,—the chance to sit down and talk over the business with you guys.”

This is a perfectly normal human impulse, and it is an impulse which must be recognized. With a body politic such as is ours in the United States, it is inevitable that we shall have more of this, until we devote ourselves to the particular phase of the social dilemma which has denied to the individual worker so much of that which must be restored to him before we can ever hope to begin the solution of the difficulties now confronting us.

In these matters of industrial relations it is again vital that we beware the word combiners. In particular, for the sake of democracy as a theory and industry as a practice, I fear many of the implications of the phrase "industrial democracy."

I have heard industrial democracy talked about at one time and another by a trade unionist, a syndicalist, a student of social tendencies, and an employer. The meanings which each of these respectively attached to the phrase were so unlike that there was not even a common denominator discoverable, and yet as a sporting proposition I would ask no more positiveness of action than would have resulted from bringing the group together. The trade unionist argued for the control of a specific industry through government by the different trades involved, seemingly with an analogy in his mind between the functions and rights of the different trade unions and of the states of our political system. The syndicalist had a clean-cut and well expressed argument that industry belonged solely to the workers in it under any circumstances and that they ought to combine and take it and run it. The student had a conception of an agreement between ownership and workers that should be reciprocally cooperative and so advantageous to each as to be compelling, once it should be tried. The employer wanted an organization of his own workers permeated with a common zeal for his interests, not too in-

sistent about their own affairs but properly appreciative of blessings received, when he should confer them. The disturbing fact in all this was that each was so obviously sincere in his belief that he understood the spirit of this elusive thing—industrial democracy—and in a testimony meeting where all who believed in it should have been invited to rise, the four would have been found upon their feet. It would be highly amusing if one were only cynical, but to those who crave real progress toward reasonable industrial adjustments such futility cannot but be a genuine sorrow!

We who believe in democracy as a political system do so in full recognition of the fact that its merits are not secured without very considerable sacrifices. One's faith would be but insecurely established if it were founded on any basis which did not take into account the real cost at which democracy must be maintained seemingly. As a political system it is clumsy and inefficient in all material ways, and in practice it sacrifices the opportunity for carrying the few to major refinement for the sake of bettering the average. Its virtues lie in the free-play it gives to individual volition which it puts under restraint only at the point where it must be curbed that other individual volitions may have their like free-play. Thus, to those of us who wish to live our own lives, with the minimum of outside interference, democracy becomes a very precious thing.

Even so, however, we recognize in emergencies when unity of action becomes a necessity for early accomplishment, that the forms of pure democracy must be somewhat laid aside to preserve the fact. We see this principle at work in varying degrees as some dread disease grips a community and quarantine shuts off exodus from it; or as fire devastates a city and the police are put in control of the panic-stricken populace; or as floods force death and destruction upon the country-side until the troops are brought in to protect and aid in reconstruction. For a time in any of these cases, we allow the delegation of authority to go to autocratic extreme, complaisant in our knowledge that its purpose is being accomplished in behalf of the over-ruling principle of democratic government.

Industry has as its primary and specific function, upon the accomplishment of which the prosperity of the people at large depends, the constant maintenance of economic surplus through its productive methods. Furthermore, the success of government in the political state ultimately is dependent upon this same thing, for no form of government is likely to endure under which a trend toward reduction of economic wealth becomes established. Of course, the answer may be made to this that by new methods of distribution by which great accumulations of wealth should be broken up, the people at large could have increased resources even under con-

ditions of lessened gross economic wealth. But this condition could only be temporary if the production methods of industry became disorganized and their fruits became impaired, for with the shrinkage of the economic surplus conditions would steadily tend again to become drastic for the increasing number without capital, and any considerable correction of such conditions would be correspondingly difficult for demobilized capital to accomplish.

“Industrial democracy” in its too frequent use is intended to be descriptive of proposed organizational modifications which imply an electorate of workers which should directly have jurisdiction over management. The fallacy involved is that this is desirable, on the assumption that this would or even could be of lasting advantage to the individual worker, for it certainly would not be except as one may assume that such democracy would be free from the weaknesses and faults of democracy as a system of government in the political state.

Real democracy will be achieved in our industrial system when conditions are actually established that insure the more capable men in the more responsible places and guarantee fair treatment and just wages to all. The development of productive methods from a knack to a science will necessarily in the evolution emphasize the superiority of the type of management which extends



equal opportunity to all and perpetuates itself by the most discriminating selection. Authority must in the very nature of things be exercised by management over productive force rather than the reverse, but it will be derived justly and utilized intelligently.

This is no time for mushiness of thought. It is as little time for empty or misleading phraseology. If the meaning of "industrial democracy" is going to imply that management shall be subject to control by those who may resent its efficiency, it is descriptive of a condition which cannot even be desired. Unity of action for the common good is necessary that the ratio between population and production shall be preserved, and this is only possible by organization and the delegation of authority through which the work of those of less ability shall be directed by those of greater. Otherwise we cannot argue effectively for democracy. Radical as we may become in regard to the conditions which shall be prescribed by the governmental system for the conduct of the industrial system, or for the distribution of wealth after it is produced, it yet remains true that the one great function of industry is production, and that this must be organized to secure maximum results.

### LECTURE NUMBER III

## PROBLEMS OF CITIZENSHIP

WE are citizens of the United States. To many a man, and probably to a majority of men enrolled in this body of citizens of which we are members, the implication of the word "citizenship" is primarily rights. As citizens we hold ourselves entitled to protection of our lives, security for our property, and enhancement of our comfort and peace of mind.

We do not, in the mass, or in any large proportion of individual cases, feel obligation which ought to be ours, to follow and to understand the political evolution of our own time, to define our political objectives in terms of the common good, to analyze the value to society of the political procedures which are developing within the framework of our government or, indeed, to participate in the elementary processes prescribed for maintenance and perpetuation of the Government. Even in national elections, under conditions most arousing interest among the electorate, barely one in two, of those entitled to the suffrage, exercises it. I withhold from speculation on the kind of reasoning which dictates how the bulk of this 50 per cent shall cast its votes. Enough for the pres-

ent moment to say that democracy has realized few of its possibilities, even in this great republic.

These are conditions which ought to have the thoughtful attention of citizens. I am not so much concerned with what citizens may do with these tendencies, as that they recognize them, and that they eventually do something.

Some day a political candidate or a political party is going before the people upon a simple and understandable platform for decentralization. Argument will be made for the reestablishment of local government in the United States, and for the restoration of the rights and responsibilities pertaining to decentralized units of workable size. The constantly accelerated tendency through recent decades, of the individual citizen, to specialize upon a given task, has restricted his interest and his ambition for knowledge within the field of his professional connection. Thereby his practical knowledge of public affairs and his solicitude concerning these have become atrophied, once they have fallen outside the range of what affects his class.

Meanwhile, with the constant encroachment upon local powers of the national government, in a country physically as vast as the United States, and as diversified in its population, the opportunity for any sufficient knowledge to justify intelligent discussion among the rank and file of men grows less and less.

The inevitable tendency of this lessened interest on the part of the electorate, combined with the increasing complexity of governmental problems, is for the establishment by the central government of an increasing number of commissions and bureaus, with an attendant increase constantly in powers delegated to, or assumed by, these. To these continuing commissions and bureaus is delegated the investigation of policies and the formulating of plans to set these up. To them, more and more, is being intrusted the execution of plans after their adoption. This is an absolutely necessary procedure if the central government is so to increase the scope of its operations, but the fact should be observed and understood.

The tendency has been only infrequently noted, and its significance too little understood, as bearing either upon our theory of government or upon its effect upon the desirable individuality of decentralized groups. Neither has its influence upon individual sense of responsibility become a matter of any general understanding or of any general concern.

The logical consequence has resulted, that the conception of government has become intangible, and we have come to think of it as something remote and detached from us, so far as any individual obligations are involved. We have access to no really intimate acquaintanceship with the theories or the practices of our govern-

ment, which invites thinking on our part. The occasional flicker of interest in the individual mind is repressed rather than encouraged by the impression, which soon becomes conviction, that such thought lacks point and is wholly futile.

The influence of our social development is likewise adverse at this point.

I believe it to be provable that creative thought has never sprung from mass populations to the degree that it has been engendered and cultivated in rural groups. Likewise, I believe that creative thought seldom is evoked from the mind of the hurried individual, subject to the routine of a schedule of fixed appointments.

If these things be so, the conclusion is definitely suggested that the human mind functions most effectively when not intruded upon by people or things, and when not constrained by time limits. Herein we have sufficient cause for anxiety in a crowded world where isolation for human beings from the intrusion upon them of their fellows is little possible.

But, in addition, there is to be taken into account the seduction of the invitations extended by the mechanical conveniences of the age. Fascinating as is the wider range of life offered by the use of such inventions as the telephone, the radio, the motor car and the moving picture, nevertheless, these monopolize time formerly devoted somewhat to thinking—if for no other reason than

because of lack of anything else to do. We all of us tend to become, in our several ways, like the scholar, who finds so much to read about what other men have thought that he never secures leisure in which to think himself.

Now, if upon these conditions in our social life we superimpose a practice in politics which removes the power of government so far from us that we feel no real conviction of responsibility for what it does, and which makes the range of the government's activities so vast that we can hope for no real conception of them, we have taken the final step in killing the possibility that there may be developed a science of political thought among the people at large.

There is little participation in government in casting a vote for administrative officers if the real seat of government is in commissions, and if the form of government is becoming a bureaucracy. Yet this is rapidly developing to be our situation.

The logical result follows, that not knowing either what we want or what we can have, we vote most purposefully on the concrete proposition of what we do not want, and what we are determined to avoid, if possible. The marvel is not that we occasionally suffer great disappointment, but rather that so frequently we fare well.

There is a familiar law in the field of economics, known as the law of diminishing returns. The stock example of this is the steamship which attains its speed of maximum



efficiency, and then requires double the expenditure of coal to increase its speed an infinitesimal per cent. The industrial world, wherein the effects of policies are more subject to exact measurement than in the political, already has accepted as fact that too great size is as uneconomical as insufficient size, and has begun to decentralize its great units. There are certain analogies in conditions existent in overcentralized industrial concerns and overcentralized political states, and chiefest among these is the decreased importance attached to the individual's effort and the decreased importance attached to the idea of giving the individual an opportunity for self-expression.

I do not endorse the attitude of an acquaintance of mine, who refused to vote in the last election, but I am not entirely without understanding of his feelings. He said that when he went to market, keen in his desire to secure potatoes, he was not interested in an option for purchase only of cabbages, carrots or parsnips, which afforded him no opportunity of getting the single thing he wanted.

The cumbersomeness of the whole proposition, as it develops increasingly day by day, weakens democracy and edges us constantly toward political conditions more oligarchic than democratic. This may be desirable, but the existence of the fact ought to be understood before the tendency proceeds farther. Meanwhile, we ought not

to be amazed and disturbed at the inevitable results of such conditions merely because we have been unobservant of things as they exist.

I am not a believer in the desirability of blocs in government, but I do not see how they are to be avoided until government is made less complex and more within the comprehension of the average man than is the case in the United States today.

Moreover, I believe too strongly in the conservation of personal energy to become greatly distraught over the attacks on any specific bloc, as representing a pernicious principle, while annually legislation in general is being so largely influenced by long existent, if infrequently recognized, blocs of so many other kinds.

If there were time, or if I had the facilities, I believe that an analysis of the individual votes which have enacted legislation in Congress on various matters of national concern in the last decade, would be illuminating, as indicating a somewhat free-and-easy attitude toward party ties of many who vehemently have sworn allegiance to these, when they have been placed in dilemma between their party ties and those of a professional or regional bloc, to whose welfare they were committed.

Here again it is not my province to pass judgment upon the transition which has taken place. I am only interested in noting a few of the radical changes which are being completed in the practice of government, and which

are being accepted and developed, even while lip service is given to the old forms. We go through the motions incident to conditions long past, and these motions still have certain influence. This influence, nevertheless, is being steadily weakened. Not only has the individual voter allowed his importance largely to be stripped from him, but, as well, the ancient system of parties has lost its large significance and is slowly dying because it offers no practice in accord with the theory that it is essential.

This argument would be folly, if it underestimated the large justification for belief in our inherent strength as a nation and our solidarity as a people. It would be further folly not to accept due satisfaction from the facts of this strength and this solidarity. My contention is solely for an aroused understanding of the phenomena about us, and for the reassuming of a sense of responsibility on the part of the individual which shall not be so fatalistic toward these great transformations in which we are involved.

Harold Begbie has told of the comment made by Sir Ernest Shackleton, shortly before his death, after he had returned from his long stay in the South Polar regions. Looking at the world's affairs with the clear vision of one who had not had his sight dimmed by being engulfed in the clouds of war, he said: "People do not realize that the flower of the world has gone. The United States is the one nation left intact. Here in Europe the high spirit,

the faith, the enterprise of youth have been mown down as with a scythe."

"The one nation left intact." Undoubtedly a true description! But what is its effect upon us? Do we respond to it with a glow of smug satisfaction, or do we visualize ourselves as under special obligation because of our deliverance? Herein we may find some basis for appraising the quality of our citizenship.

We boast ourselves citizens of a great democracy without knowing what democracy is or the limits of its applicability to the affairs of men. We urge holding to the faith of the "Fathers," without consciousness that the "Fathers" neither foresaw nor would have had belief in the democracy, be it good or bad, of the present day. We adopt such phrases of our thinkers as "making the world safe for democracy" without subjecting ourselves to the mental rigors of understanding them, to say nothing of the fact that we develop no purpose to do anything to translate these phrases into action. We lack interest in developing a political philosophy to guide in those political actions in which power still resides in us.

Blinding ourselves to our needs, we seek expedients instead of principles and slogans instead of policies. We interpret democracy to mean standardization and consequently are maneuvered into defending mediocrity. We ignore the fact that the great equality for which democracy is responsible is equality of opportunity. We shrink

from the implication of need of an aristocracy of those who utilize their opportunities and prove their eligibility for preference, because, forsooth, we fear the words "aristocracy" and "preference."

Thus we add to the hurdles in the course which democracy must run before she vindicates her claim to be adequate to produce leadership. Certainly, democracy cannot reasonably claim proved superiority among the principles of government in the earth until it can with some certainty bring its best men up to the positions of leadership, and can produce a following which recognizes and accepts wise leadership when it is providentially afforded.

In using the word "leadership," however, I wish to make it very clear what I mean. I differ with some as to the present day significance of the word "leadership."

Leadership in a democracy, if compatible with its environment, must necessarily be a leadership based upon influence and not upon mastery. To many an individual the word "leadership" implies the iron man,—the swash-buckling hero, the man on horseback, the swaggering buccaneer. Such leadership was possible in the days when a nation's boundaries were fixed at horse distances and when one people was so isolated from its neighboring group that an energetic and ruthless individual could range back and forth and establish power, without the repression of outside observers who might have wished

to check the disease before its contagion spread, if earlier knowledge of impending danger had been theirs.

Such leadership was possible in the time of Napoleon, when communities were still enough distant from one another so that they could be segregated from one another and picked off in instalments, and when one people could be overpowered and its influence eliminated before information and understanding could percolate into the consciousness of a neighboring people, that this process was going on. The practice of serial demolition, however, has become constantly less possible under circumstances of instant intercommunication, where a state, a nation, or the world can be informed and can be mobilized in opposition to such a movement. The old-time form, of mastery, is losing its efficacy, and effective leadership at the present time is coming to be dependent upon an entirely different set of attributes.

We cannot too clearly keep before ourselves the fact that leadership is not mastery, but that it is influence, and that no man can become a wise leader who has not been willing to be a wise follower; that in a democracy leadership ought to be conferred by the confidence of the people at large, and ought not to be won by specious arguments or permanently secured by self-appointed guides with selfish motives.

Moreover, let us not be deluded into the belief that leadership necessarily refers only to position as com-



mander-in-chief. The leadership of the world requires its majors, its captains, its lieutenants and its sergeants, as well as does the organization of an army.

Democracy could not exist without the leadership of the wise teacher, the faithful minister, the devoted doctor, the public-spirited lawyer, or the intelligent business man. Moreover, the leadership of scholarship cannot be ignored, nor can the leadership which springs from intellectual preeminence combined with humility.

It is quality of leadership and respect for leadership to which we need to give attention within this democracy of ours. And more and more it will be vital that we concede leadership to those with the combined capacities for thinking and doing.

Professor L. P. Jacks, the English philosopher, tells the following story:

A genial Irishman, cutting peat in the wilds of Connemara, was once asked by a pedestrian Englishman to direct him on his way to Letterfrack. With the wonted enthusiasm of his race, the Irishman flung himself into the problem, and taking the wayfarer to the top of a hill commanding a wide prospect of bogs, lakes, and mountains, proceeded to give him, with more eloquence than precision, a copious account of the route to be taken. He then concluded as follows: "'Tis the devil's own country, sorr, to find your way in. If it was meself that was going to Letterfrack, faith, I wouldn't start from here."

It is doubtless true of all of us that if we were choosing our starting point from which to approach our ideal of citizenship, we would not start from where we are. Yet, other points of departure might be worse, and where we are may not be so unfortunate as many would have us believe.

For instance, it is probably a fact that more people would join in regret that we are so largely an industrial civilization than in regard to any other one attribute of the time in which we live.

It is to be queried if this is not a mistaken notion and if there is not far more cause to view the matter with hope than to see in it little except cause for deep despondency! The vastly increased material resources available to mankind have filtered down and made accessible for hosts of people comforts and luxuries undreamed of, even by members of the reigning families in the past. Science and art have had large benefit. Regardless, for the moment, of whether the distribution of wealth has been as complete as would have been desirable, nevertheless, wealth has been greatly increased—and distributed sufficiently so that widespread advantage has accrued to people at large.

Yet, whatever be our attitude either of satisfaction or regret, this is unquestionably an industrial age, and the predominant questions of the time have to do with industrialism and society.

In the last address I suggested certain points whereat the economic power had withheld helpfulness in the effort to arrive at a working hypothesis of social relations which all could adopt. Let us look at the other side of the shield for a moment.

Years ago Daniel Webster bespoke the tragic efforts which result from controversies among human beings and said that "man retaliates upon man." It is this retaliation of one group upon another, the matching of self-interest against self-interest, of animosity against animosity, of error against error, that creates the endless chain of maladjustment and consequent misfortune to society at large and to individuals severally.

Does it not behoove us, then, in the highly explosive state of the great society of our world today, to be less complacent in regard to this retaliation of one group upon another, and to utilize all forces at our command to restrict excess of error in one group or another?

One peculiarity of our civilization is worthy of note that the characteristics of the group are not necessarily determined by the characteristics of the individuals which make it up, unless these individuals are deliberately projecting themselves and their influences into the group. The American stock, for instance, has individually been kind and considerate in relation to its immediate fellows. Being highly individualistic, however, it has not been willing, largely, to accept responsibility

for group action and consequently this has been too often self-absorbed and heedless of consequences of actions, the results of which did not fall immediately under its eye. It is necessarily one of the obligations of citizenship to work towards a correction of this condition, so that while the incentives for individual self-development are preserved, solicitude for the welfare of the group shall replace a solicitude which has been too largely for self and self's possessions.

In this transfer of emphasis it will require maximum intelligence and courage to think straight, if we are to avoid creating added evils that will largely neutralize the benefits of ridding ourselves of the old ones.

This tendency is evident all too frequently among men who are giving anxious thought and interest to the affairs of those to whom social justice has been long delayed. This tendency leads to condoning abuses and bigotries among those for whom this new concern is felt, though these will be as detrimental to society, in the long run, as are those older faults against which protest is being made and fight is being waged. It is not legitimate to allow ourselves to be thus emotionally influenced to the elimination of mental processes in as delicate an assignment to the realm of the intellect as in the defining and putting into operation of a new social formula.

The essential point, which it seems to me is a major difficulty in our present situation, is the confusion exist-

ent in the public mind as to what is our condition or what it ought to be. Herein, I believe our reformers and professional liberals to be as largely, or more at fault than any others, and this for two reasons. First, the inordinate importance among them attached to words; and second, the insufficient importance attached to cooperation as the indispensable method for desirable advance, even at the expense of subordinating minor differences of opinion.

The congenital reformer, acknowledgedly a valuable type, usually is not without sin against the cause he espouses in the temper of his discussion of social relations and political affairs. Perhaps it is because so many of these have been writers, with little more than hearsay knowledge of practical affairs, that we have now in common parlance certain dignified phrases of meritorious sound which convey as many different shades of meaning as there are people voicing them. It is at any rate a fact that too many of this guild are literary stylists first of all, and always most zealously. Euphony and mellifluous diction go extraordinarily far with us as a people, and phraseology too often wins a widespread approval that would not be given to the logic which it implies, if it had not been verbally sweetened.

It consequently becomes essential for us, not too infrequently, to analyze the catch-words of our political,

religious, or social language to determine whether we are using words primarily to bespeak thought or because they have a certain rhythm in their jingle. In no other way can we avoid as a people the attribute ascribed to one of the characters of a novel I once read:—a man who was said to have “a mind not exactly intellectual but felicitous in vocabulation.”

The liberal can least of all afford to become unreceptive to the possible truths involved in the thinking of others. The mind willing to consider the validity of opinions not its own, and open to conviction in the presence of new knowledge, is more liberal than that of the bigot, regardless of the professionalized attitude which influences the beliefs of either.

Gigantic forces are at work within the world, the effects of which cannot be dictated and the power of which cannot be withheld. The preservation of civilization is dependent upon widespread acceptance of principles under which these forces shall be applied for the common good. The presentation and the securing of the acceptance of these principles is our primary need. The method must be by persuasion. Effort at compulsion and measures for repression, even if desirable otherwise, can never be made strong enough to be effective continuously. We need to drop expectation of miracles and supermen and to reflect more and more on the fact that



civilization has developed largely by the honesty of purpose and intelligence of effort of normal men, subject to the influence of disciplined intellectual processes.

I have spoken of the confusion existent in the public mind concerning our present status and the difficulties in knowing how, if at all, this ought to be changed. This is made more serious by the disposition at large, throughout all groups, to secure support for their beliefs by special pleading.

All in all, there is no greater injury wrought in this matter than by those of good intentions, unaccompanied by understanding or lacking breadth of view. Socrates, with his reservations about the benefit brought to mankind by the written character, would have had these increased many fold could he have foreseen the flood of propaganda which these days is rushing through the sluice-ways opened by the war.

The two great conflicting forces of the world at the present time are the spirit of truth and the spirit of propaganda, the former of which leads towards the light and to ultimate peace and happiness for mankind and the latter of which is not only the father of lies but a whole ancestral tree, ultimately making for chaos and distress. Many of us thought we were to have been done with any necessity for thinking of or discussing propaganda, once the war should have been ended, but instead we find ourselves confronted with the definite possibility

that what was reluctantly accepted as a war necessity will be imposed upon us in larger dimensions and with greater thoroughness than ever before as a working procedure of daily life, despite its tendency to shrink minds and to soil souls in the muddied waters of things that are not so.

Given the necessity for accepting<sup>1</sup> the evils of war to avoid other evils even greater, I do not feel qualified to state the extent to which squeamishness can be expected to affect its conduct, but I assume that in the minds of thinking men there is agreement that in a world seeking a basis of cooperation rather than of conflict, the prevalent war-time practice of distorting truth and of clothing plausible falsehood with respectability should not prevail—and yet it does prevail!

As a tangible and practical objective, we could commit ourselves to no purpose more in accord with the spirit of intelligent citizenship than the early and utter elimination of the spirit of propaganda in the affairs of this world, and in the discussion of those of the next. There could be no more genuine consecration to the principle of the search for truth than in militant opposition to and repudiation of this spirit, whether it emanate from the manufacturer's association, the offices of organized labor, the editor's column, the preacher's pulpit, or the college officer's desk. The principle and the method are invariably wrong, however worthy be the motive.

In the course of time I hope that some thinker will write a serious dissertation on the subject of labels as related to truth and propaganda. Unfortunately labels do not always accurately designate the goods. The buyer returning from Paris with a few Parisian hats but with a quantity of Parisian labels to be affixed to creations of domestic manufacture may do no great injury to the purchasers of his goods but he certainly will never advance the science of honest merchandising. The duty-dodger who sits on the edge of his berth industriously tearing out from his clothes the firm name of his English tailors and replacing them with labels forehandedly provided, bearing the name of his home town suitmaker, may not greatly damage society, but he definitely damages his own capacity to be useful to society when he perjures himself to the government inspector.

When we, however, somewhat less consciously disregard the true labels to be affixed to men or causes and, without care in ascertaining the facts, tag them with labels which designate them to be what we wish them to be thought to be, we destroy the essential evidence in regard to their true characteristics and make accurate designation impossible, and thus make unobtainable all thought or action dependent upon accurate knowledge.

We have all seen the effects of this on individuals. To the latent unpopularity of a clubmate, or it may be a popularity so great as to arouse envy, there is attached,

through irresponsibility or malice, the whispered implication of some disapproved action. It is immediately assumed that he is not of our kind. It begins to seem that he might be of the kind that he is accused of being, and of a sudden all which has been suggested becomes accepted as fact. The label is affixed and the man is outlawed.

Or again, to the lurking fear that some new movement will disturb the existing order and thus create personal complications for us, is added the suggestion that certain moral lapses or certain individual crimes of violence, increasingly prevalent, had their origin and instigation within the disliked movement. Immediately there is almost inevitable disposition to assume these things to be fact. We detest and fear the type of action and we dislike and distrust people who think thus unorthodoxly. What more reasonable than that the two are associated! And immediately without mental effort and almost without consciousness there is affixed to a group the label which signifies a condition which may or may not be true, —but the group is damned with the crimes ascribed to it by the suggestion of a label.

The vast extent to which propaganda is utilized is a modern problem. It is not to be assumed, however, that the spirit or method of propaganda are entirely new. For instance, after Galileo had invented the telescope and by its revelations offended the static minded theo-

logians of his time, it was felt to be necessary to discredit him to bulwark doctrines of the Church. To this end Porta, a member of the priesthood and a scientific man of extreme cleverness, was interested. He made a telescope like Galileo's, and stuck a louse on the lens, thus apparently locating a beast in the heavens. He called priests and a cardinal to look through it. He painted stars on the glass and so made them appear in a portion of the sky wherein there were no stars. Thus he substantiated his argument as to how susceptible to error a telescope might be, and for the time Galileo's facts were discredited.

So far as citizenship is concerned, it is essential moreover that we should get away from the accentuated spirit of intolerance, of which propaganda is so often a manifestation. We need to eliminate from among our people the widely held belief that a standardizing of opinion and of belief and of action would make this a better country, and us a happier people. It is because of such reasoning that we have the prevalent unwillingness to ascribe any merit to points of view other than our own, the distrust of those who do not accept our conventions, and the antagonism to groups possessed of customs different from our own.

It is interesting to see how different is the attitude of the commentator of detached mind.

Lord Macaulay, in the essay on *The Earl of Chatham*,

speaks of the Whigs and Tories, and says that we may consider each of them as representative of a great principle, essential to the welfare of nations. "One is, in an especial manner, the guardian of liberty, and the other of order. One is the moving power, and the other the steady power of the state. One is the sail, without which society would make no progress, the other the ballast, without which there would be small safety in a tempest."

Surely, we should not forget that resistance is necessary to the perfection of any movement, and that from the conflict of opinions honestly and intelligently held, are derived policies most advantageous to the state. It ought not to be beyond our powers of appreciation to value the existence of theories other than our own, even though we do not accept these. These are all personal obligations and society cannot meet them until individuals have done so in numbers and with earnestness.

In development of theories of how men should live together with satisfaction and common advantage to themselves, there has been large measure of agreement among the great thinkers of all ages. The conclusion of these has been that no need however great, no obligation however insistent, could be largely met until it had secured response from that mysterious inner being of individual man which we call his "heart."

Just what this is, no one knows, but it has as its guid-



ing force the mind and as its power plant the emotions, and without either man fails to comprehend life fully or to approach final truth.

It is at this point that the professionalized and specialized "doers" and "thinkers" tend to part company, if not before. The thinker, hesitant to accept what is not yet explainable, often tends to form his own conclusions without needful recognition of forces which he cannot explain. The doer, accepting the fact of the existence of forces which he does not understand, frequently proceeds to utilize these, with care-free nonchalance, for his own ends. Each absorbed in his chosen field, misunderstands and largely ignores the other, to the mutual loss of each and to the misfortune of those about him. One refers to the other as having "an academic mind," and the other relates in disparagement of him who is "a mere administrator."

The need in the correction of the procedures of society for a real working hypothesis is not for the adoption of the point of view of either to the exclusion of the other, but for their co-mingled influence in the minds of men and therefore in the mind of man.

Each generation is required to work out its own salvation if it is to be saved. Likewise, it is given to each individual largely to determine the worth of the contribution which he will make to the society of his time. Forces available for this lie within ourselves. Among

the many things associated with life which we do not understand perhaps there is nothing which we understand less than those extraordinary beings, our own selves. Reasoning by analogy, it seems a plausible theory that synthetic goodness, synthetic intelligence, or even synthetic emotion, may prove as lacking in vitamins as various other synthetic compounds have been known to be. If civilization is to develop strength to resist the encroachment of disease and is to develop a stalwartness which shall carry it on in health through succeeding ages, it is essential that we strive mightily as individuals for the fullest possible development not only of mind, but also of heart and soul. I do not attempt to define these words, for, despite the difficulty in defining them they have a common meaning to most people which is very real even if intangible.

When all is done and said, the resistance to all these gigantic forces which beat in upon the individual is futile except as this resistance is bred within individual men and is transmitted by individual men to society as a whole. The horrors of a vacuum have been emphasized through all literature and the more forces that beat upon an individual externally the more uncertain the hazard of what will enter in to vacuums of heart or mind or soul if these are left empty. Knowledge is indispensable to the man who desires a hand in the development of his own life. Knowledge being given, intelligence is

essential if knowledge is to be used aright. Intelligence being added, the man still may remain a passive agent except as he acquires conviction.

It remains true today that men of our time whose names will go down to posterity as men of virtue must be possessed of the attitude toward life held by those ancient men described by Confucius two thousand years ago. Of them he said: "The men of old, in their desire to manifest great virtue throughout the empire, began with good government in the various States. To achieve this it was necessary first to order aright their own families, which in turn was preceded by cultivation of their own selves, and that again by rectification of the heart, following upon sincerity of purpose which comes from extension of knowledge, this last being derived from due investigation of objective existences."

















